

ment union members in New York did not discard or diminish their cultural identity even during the most intense moment of their unionism. Although the two studies do not answer all the questions that we have had about the relationship between race and class in American history, they offer convincing evidence to support Jung's forcefully articulated notion that class and race do not necessarily have to be or are mutually exclusive in the consciousness of workers and in the development of labour movement. Finally, Bao's work reminds us that to fully appreciate how the two dimensions of race and class intersected, we also need to take a gendered perspective, a perspective that could also further enrich Jung's analysis of class and race.

Yong Chen

University of California, Irvine

Najia Aarim-Heriot, *Chinese Immigrants, African Americans, and Racial Anxiety in the United States, 1848-1882* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006).

Scholars of the American West have long argued that looking east changes the dominant narrative of North American history. While profoundly important, this body of work has remained predominately regional in focus. In her recent study, Najia Aarim-Heriot moves beyond regionalism by adeptly arguing that the history of African-Americans and Chinese immigrants in the nineteenth century must be incorporated into a national narrative (regardless of where, in what numbers or the direct contact these groups had with one another). *Chinese Immigrants, African Americans, and Racial Anxiety in the United States* enlarges the historiographical frame by making three arguments that contribute to our understanding of American racism as a country-wide phenomenon. First, Aarim-Heriot maintains that Sinophobia and anti-Black prejudice were indelibly linked. Second, she suggests that their linkage had repercussions for the nation (not just the western United States) and shaped the discourse of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Third, she shows that this critical period—a period when nineteenth century migration to the U.S. was at a temporary low—was as much about immigration as it was about emancipation.

Aarim-Heriot explores the antebellum period to hint at the possibility, albeit slim, of an alternative story to the tragic one that she tells. Before 1850, for example, while racism was part of the legal and constitutional frameworks of federal, state and local governments, immigrants and Blacks were less closely linked than they would become. Black codes were least prevalent in California where, up until the discovery of gold, the state both welcomed immigrants and had not codified laws which curtailed African-American migration. Without hindsight, the author hints, a welcoming multiracial state might have expanded. Aarim-Heriot uses the admission of Oregon (the only free state that requested admission to the US with an explicitly

anti-Black exclusion) to make her point about possibility. Senators in Washington DC did not comment on the exclusion but rather were struck with another innovation: the differentiation of Chinese from other immigrants—something an Ohio lawmaker called a “novelty” (56).

In her challenge to the historiographical regionalism which divides the histories of African-Americans and Chinese in the nineteenth century, Aarim-Heriot argues on two levels. The author’s claim that her study is unique in the tracing of racial nativism’s national scope is overstated. The meticulous accounting, however, of the impact that western states played in the political history of the US is exceptional. For example, the analysis of *Dred Scott v. Sandford* is one of the most important contributions the book makes. The legal, political, social, and cultural repercussions of the Dred Scott decision are well known. In acknowledging its central place, Aarim-Heriot goes beyond previous interpretations of the Supreme Court’s ruling by showing its impact before and after the war. Aarim-Heriot connects the majority opinion in *Dred Scott* with the arguments made against the Chinese in California’s *People v. Hall* (decided three years earlier). She then ties the wording of the 1870 Naturalization Statute, which envisioned a citizen as Black and white, with the language in *Dred Scott*. In both the court case and the new statute, citizenship was based on race. While the Supreme Court had confined citizenship to whites alone, the 1870 law precluded the Chinese altogether by defining belonging in terms of blackness and whiteness. As Aarim-Heriot writes, “The 1870 statute would serve to legitimize the anti-Asian cast of American law and immigration policy for more than seventy years” (152).

The Naturalization Statute came in the midst of Reconstruction and Aarim-Heriot’s most significant contribution to the field is her analysis of this period. The author shows that Reconstruction was as much about immigration as it was about African American freedom. By writing from this perspective, the study adds nuance to the notion of Reconstruction as the possible Second American Revolution. Just as the founding fathers, most Radical Republicans were as concerned with immigration as they were with slavery. In making her story about racism, a national one, Aarim-Heriot follows the contradictory posturing of the Radical Republicans. These men were divided over the question of Chinese immigration. Besides Charles Sumner, who singularly saw the moment after the Civil War as an opportunity to both remove the term ‘white’ from immigration law (which was part of the 1790 Naturalization Act) and legislate Black equal citizenship in the Reconstruction Amendments, few of his colleagues had such vision. Those who did question anti-Chinese legislation did not do so as a rejection of Sinophobia but rather for fear of what the move would do to U.S.-Chinese relations. Aarim-Heriot’s assertions are compelling here. The author shows that at this crucial moment when Americans were attempting to legislate the position and degree of freedom of Blacks, they were also reflecting on (and trying to alter) the type of presence Chinese immigrants and Asian-Americans could have in the US.

Chinese Immigrants, African-Americans, and Racial Anxiety also gives interesting insight into the relationship between foreign policy and immigration restriction in the early post-bellum moment. The study shows how important the 1868 Burlingame Treaty between China and the US was to shaping the debate. Burlingame prohibited forced labor (the 'coolie' trade), acknowledged the natural right of migration, and denied the right of Chinese subjects to become naturalized American citizens. Both the possibilities and the contradictions of the law were used by judges, lawmakers, and immigrants themselves to point out the need for more clarification in policy. Aarim-Heriot returns to these points throughout the book as she weaves her analysis to its culmination: the 1882 Chinese Exclusion law. She convincingly shows that the Exclusion Law was not only the beginning of an era, which others have suggested, but the culmination of a decades-long course that had an increasingly predictable outcome. This study, therefore, serves as a corrective to accepted periodization in immigration history. A periodization starting with 1882 and ending with the 1924 Johnson Reed act which set strict quotas on European immigrants and made initial distinctions between racial and ethnic groups now seems more problematic.

Because *Chinese Immigrants, African-Americans, and Racial Anxiety* is told from the top down, the study's arguments are, at times, overdrawn and claim more than the documents warrant. Though it is a minor point, the book's organization could use further editorial advice. The eleven short thematic chapters might be combined in a way that would be more beneficial to Aarim-Heriot's challenge to historiographical regionalism. In the end, this book provides a new framework for understanding nineteenth century anti-Chinese sentiment. Aarim-Heriot's research and the way she connects her sources should help historians think about racism beyond the biracial paradigm which has entrenched us for too long.

Caroline Waldron Merithew
University of Dayton

José M. Alamillo, *Making Lemonade Out of Lemons: Mexican American Labor and Leisure in a California Town 1880-1960* (University of Illinois Press: Urbana, 2006).

José M. Alamillo traces the historical development of a Mexican community in the lemon industry's company town of Corona, California. This community would alter their status from marginalized citrus workers to politically engaged agents of change. In writing up the history, Alamillo's study teaches lessons on processes of social change and the shifting formation of racial, ethnic, gender, and class identities. Further, the book's analysis provides insight on the creativity and persistence which subjugated groups rely upon to actualize social equality.